

# DEMOCRACY:

OR,

## THE TWO COMMANDMENTS.

BY E. F. SEWELL.

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“Then one of them which was a lawyer, asked him a question, tempting him, and saying,

“Master, which is the great commandment in the law? Jesus said unto him, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment.

“And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.”

*Matt. xxii. 35—40.*

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# DEMOCRACY, &c., &c.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE WORD "DEMOCRACY."

WHAT is meant by the term "Democraey?" is a question peculiarly applicable to the present time. To hear some people speak of it, it would seem to represent the grand panacea for the evils of mankind; whilst, in the honest opinion of others, the growth of democratic principles is no less the cause of these evils. Whilst rather inclined to look upon it as a panacea, I am at once convinced that, considered in its popular meaning, "Democraey" can never be such. But were I inclined to regard it as an evil, I cannot reconcile such opinion with the meaning I have attached to the word. Perhaps, like the camelion in the fable, I may exclaim with equal truth to the holders of both views,

"Ye both are right, and both are wrong."

It entirely depends upon the light in which we view it, whether it is black or white, whether it is evil or good. Does it mean unrestrained selfishness, as many practically make it to mean, or does it mean, as an American poet\* would give us to understand, perfect and universal love?

The meaning of a word, or rather, the idea of which that word is intended to be the representative sign, depends very much upon the sentiment which is uppermost in the mind of the thinker. Carlyle, under the influence of his "Hero-worship," speaks of democraey as "despair of finding any heroes to govern you." Some friends of order and good conservative government,

\* Whittier.

whose prevailing idea is that of a French revolution possible in England, confound it with mobocracy and revolutionary disorganization. Others, in whom the feeling that they are wronged is uppermost, identify it with justice, and, as a consequence, by a somewhat false reasoning, with equality in everything. The Greek scholar and his pupils, who regard the word rather than any idea which it conveys, insist that, being derived from *ἔθνος*, the people, and *κρατεω*, to govern, it means "a government in which the sovereignty is lodged in the people," and with them the whole meaning ends there, expressed demonstrably in so many letters.

Whittier, a poet and a Christian, thinking perhaps by what means only, democracy, according to its logical interpretation, can be possible, has conceived another and most beautiful idea respecting it, which he thus embodies in the emphatic words of our Saviour, — "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." It is an idea worthy of a high-souled Christian democrat; an idea which at once unites democracy and theocracy, and carries you from the democratic revolutions of the present age to the glorious fulfilment of prophecy. But, alas! whilst thus dreaming our beautiful dreams of a millennium, we perceive sorrowfully that the democracy of our revolutions is not the democracy of Whittier. In name only, and in the perception of a truth as eternal as justice,—perceived, not in love, but in self-interest,—are they similar. Yet there stands that truth, turned up by the plough-share of destruction, or washed up by the troubled and exasperated waters of the great ocean of human life, it may be, but there it is; and what the preaching of Christianity for the last sixteen hundred years has failed to teach, is being now taught by the wild turmoil of injured and oppressed humanity.

Addressing this conception of democracy as "the fairest born of Love and Light," Whittier proceeds to tell us of its origin; for, however much it may have been brought to light by the storms of modern revolutions, it is not their child.

- " Not from the poor and shallow fount  
 Of vain philosophy thou art ;  
 He who of old, on Syria's mount,  
 Thrilled, warmed, by turns, the listener's heart,  
 " In holy words which cannot die,  
 In thoughts which angels lean to know,  
 Proclaimed thy message from on high—  
 Thy mission to a world of woe.  
 " That voice's echo hath not died—  
 From the blue lake of Galilee,  
 And Tabor's lonely mountain-side,  
 It calls a struggling world to thee."

A government, practically in the hands of the people at large, can exist only as a government of brotherly love. The storms of our revolutions, therefore, will not cease till—not "the sovereignty of the people" is declared in so many mere words, but—the true spirit of a true democracy is received and acknowledged and revered by the people.

My motive in writing the following pages is, if possible, to inculcate a little of such practical democracy amongst those who call themselves democrats ; and to remind those who call themselves Christians of the true character of the law of love.

"Democracy," according to the view of it which I have thus adopted, may be considered to express, in one word, the right relation existing between man and man. Man's duty to man is subservient to a higher duty. The second commandment follows the first. Let us, therefore, in order better to comprehend the relation of man to man, consider briefly the relation which man holds to God.

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE FIRST COMMANDMENT.

THE Eternal, Infinite, All-creating Power, by which we are, must of necessity be first. First in honour, first in fear, first in love, and alone to be worshipped. Such a Power is King. As such, he speaks to us, his subjects, giving us also a power, and intrusting to us the

government of a kingdom. This power is the right of choice,—the free agency in which he has made man in his own image,—the sovereignty of the will, by which we are enabled to reign as kings upon the earth, and govern that kingdom which our great Sovereign has committed to our trust. The kingdom he has given us to govern is, Everything material on this earth, from the most delicate formation of our own bodies, with their habits and propensities, to the ocean, the mountain, the wilderness, or the sandy desert.

But we hold this kingdom in allegiance, and are intrusted with this power only at the pleasure of our supreme King. There are certain conditions upon which we hold the government of this kingdom, which may be snatched from us by death, without a moment's warning. These conditions are accompanied with the promise that, if we obey them, we shall receive hereafter a more glorious kingdom; but that, if we do not obey them, we shall be utterly thrust out from the presence and love of our God. Yet, whilst he thus strictly enforces obedience to these conditions, he has also provided all those who have not abided by them, and there are none who have, with the means of reconciliation and atonement, simply upon their being willing to accept it. He is, through his beloved Son, our atonement, and thus reconciles us to himself.

These conditions are—first, that we shall own no other Supreme Head, King, or God. “Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment.” And secondly, that we love each other. The second commandment is like the first, “Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.”

These are the two first laws of our moral existence, which form the basis of all others. These laws, and others connected with them, more minutely detailing the whole duty of life, are they which were intrusted to the peculiar keeping of the Israelites, through Moses. These are the laws which were more perfectly communicated to the Apostles, and which were preached in their greatest force and simplicity by our Saviour himself.

And these laws are implanted in our consciences so indelibly, that we cannot disobey them without being convinced of sin ; unless, indeed, by long disobedience, they have become too obscure to be perceived by the rebellious will of man. And such indeed has been the case : man has always rebelled against his known convictions of right, which are, however apparently dim, the spiritual manifestations of God's will ; therefore darkness has surrounded us, only that by possessing the written law, so far as we understand it, we are without excuse.

Rebellion having begot disaffection, on the part of the subject, has also begot, on the part of God, a withdrawal of his presence, and therefore, gross ignorance in man. Ignorance intellectually so great, as to leave from generation to generation the growing marks of it, in an utter want of ability to conceive what can truly be that Great First Cause, to which manifestly we owe all ; some idea of which, except where reason is perverted by a wilful disavowal of his being, does still exist amongst all minds, however dark. This idea of a First Cause visibly shows itself in the desire to do homage to some power which appears best represented by some visible object, which becomes worshipped and believed in as a god. It is therefore that the One True God has always reserved, as his witnesses, some small portion of his subjects, with sufficient endowment of spiritual and intellectual light to perceive the untruthfulness of any representation conceivable to man of Deity. He has commanded these, that they shall have no other God than Him, nor make any image or likeness of anything in order to worship it ; that they shall not speak needlessly and lightly of Him ; that they shall devote to his service a certain portion of their time, and of the result of their labour ;\* that they shall rest one day in seven ; and that, in all they do, they are to do it for his glory, seeking his assistance, and acknowledging his sovereignty. Such is the substance of all the laws

\* For the support of his ministers whilst engaged in the work of the ministry, for the maintenance of places for public worship, for the relief of the poor, &c.

based upon the first commandment. But our relation to God does not end here.

**Man has sinned**, and God has determined to rescue his subjects from their fallen and degraded state, and by his own **Eternal Power** to exalt them, not only in the next world, but even on this earth, to a high and glorious eminence. For which purpose he has, from time to time, stooped to the capacity of their reason, and earnestly entreated them, through the medium of his own inspired prophets and apostles, to become wise. God is our King; we believe this, though we cannot comprehend Him. He is our King, but he is no despotic ruler. He has given us the power to choose or to refuse his government as free agents. And he has instituted the means of restoration from our fallen condition, accompanied with the free pardon of our sins. Which means of salvation he has from the beginning made typical, in the religious ceremonies of his witnesses; and which I unhesitatingly believe is open for every one, not merely for those whose minds are well stored with information and intellectual knowledge upon the subject, but also for the ignorant. God is our King; yet, in the great love he has for us, and through which he desires the ultimate regeneration and enlightenment of our race, he even became one of us, and

“That frail form which mortals wear,  
The Spirit of the Holiest took,  
And veiled his perfect brightness there.”

God became man, for man's sake; and, as such, practically taught us, that it is possible for man to conform to the will of God. To enable us to do this, he has promised to be a God very near to every one of us, assisting us when we desire assistance, instructing us when we desire instruction, and preserving us when we trust to Him for preservation. This proffered salvation he assures us is for no merit of our own, but is of free grace or favour, “for Christ's sake,” and the love he has for us; the proof of which he established by the death of his Son upon the cross. For all this he simply requires, on our part, the belief of it, and



willingness to accept his offer of salvation by a manifested willingness to do his will. This will, besides what I have already given, as expressed by the first commandment, is entirely expressed in this one command of our Saviour, "Love one another, even as I have loved you ; for greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friend."

Such is our relation to God. It forms the basis of our relation to each other, which I have called democracy. And with all my zeal for this democracy, and the right keeping of the second commandment, without the keeping of which it is impossible to keep the first, I wish not to be identified with those who, from a natural and honest detestation of "cant," fall into the opposite extreme of many professors of Christianity, and imagine, that to serve God acceptably, it is only necessary to do right towards man. There are duties which we owe to God only. There is a relation between man and God, in which the relation between man and man has no part. Yet, if our duty on this earth be simply the improvement of our kind, and there were no other aim whatever in our existence, even for this end, if we acknowledge a God at all, it behoves us to seek his assistance. By the conquest of our own evil passions and propensities, by self-denial in little things, of which man has no cognizance, we strengthen ourselves to contend with evil in the world. Whilst we are the slaves of sin, however secretly, we cannot, with all our cant about progress and reform or a "good time coming," contend effectually with the sin which surrounds us, or hope for a millennium of brotherly love. The earnest struggler for reform will not find his time wasted which he devotes to private meditation and communion with his God ; nor when, with God's help, he devotes his whole energies first to the conquest of his own secret sins. The thoughtful consideration of our individual sinfulness, of the love of God in providing us with the means of salvation, of the character and plan of that salvation through Jesus Christ, the intellectual study of those precepts which have been left on record by Him and his immediate followers, and the exercises of public

and private devotion, are employments which are as necessary to our usefulness, and which do as essentially constitute part of our duty in this life, as that of acting rightly towards our fellow-creatures.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE DEMOCRACY OF THE FIRST COMMANDMENT.

DEMOCRACY, I have hinted, has relation chiefly to the second commandment; but there is one principle connected with it, which is properly the result of the first, and is derived less from a love to man, than from reverence to God; the false profession of which, however, may often be traced to inordinate self-love and pride. It is that principle which refuses to give to man the honour which is due only to God. Yet it is consistent with the law of brotherly love, inasmuch as undue honour is the result of fear, which is incompatible with love.

We fear our brother, yet why should we, though he be far more elevated than we are? He may be better clothed, better fed, better in every sense than we. His mind, which perhaps is naturally more perfectly developed than ours, and which he has improved by cultivation and intercourse with others, his equals, is such, it may be, as we cannot comprehend; and we, perhaps, may feel ourselves less righteous than he is. In every respect we acknowledge his superiority. Yet, whilst we may honour him, for honour is to be given to whom honour is due, we may not call him "Rabbi;" for one is our Master, even Christ, and all we are brethren. We must love him, but we may not fear him.

"Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve," is the great first division of the first commandment. Yet we worship man. A species of so-called "hero-worship," may be natural; so long as it is not real worship, but honour, it is lawful. But this homage which we pay to our fellow-man, is not the result of a real feeling of honour and respect, which the great always deserve of the less, else it were not to be condemned; it is a base servile worship and form of

worship, arising from the desire of self-aggrandisement and from fear,—fear such as man may not have, save reverently of his God. We make idols of men, even in the place of God; crouch down at their approach, like inferior animals; and dare do none other, even though God himself command us, than these our elder brothers tell us to do.

We are free and independent beings, born to be equal with the highest amongst men. We are not born, as we are often told, to fill that station in life which we occupy at birth. "Station in life," say some, "in which God has placed you." We are born to soar up, ever higher, from whatever station we first occupy, never to be satisfied. Content we may be, but satisfied we never ought to be on this earth. But I would not be misunderstood; we are not equal, it is not likely we ever shall be here; but we were equal when born, and, doubtless, we shall be equal in heaven, before Him who is no respecter of persons. Therefore, let us not fear our brethren, because they have surpassed us in excellence; rather let us push forward, if haply we also may attain to their standard. If we have not been planted upon like fruitful soil with them, let us make the more diligence to improve it, and let us not think that God has destined us to insignificance. But I wish not to foster self-conceit; we are not equal, our duties are not similar, our labours do not appear equal. There is a life of the body, as well as of the soul; and we must preserve the body, or we cannot enlarge the soul. We must do material work, and by the sweat of our brow we must eat our bread. Circumstances, over which we have often no control, regulate our employment. Whatever employment falls to our lot, let us do it with earnest diligence; if we can change for advantage, let us change—it is our right—but not else. There are none born to be serfs for ever, yet if we can be none other, let us even be content with our lot; if we can be other, it is our duty to be so, let us; no one has a right to hinder us. Yet, let me not be misunderstood, for democracy leads between Seylla and Charybdis. There is work in this world called "drudgery," mere physical-force work,

which steam engines cannot yet do. How shall high-souled intelligences stoop to work like this?—Why should they not? There is no work but what is honourable. The labour which is called drudgery, is not properly rewarded, because we are willing to continue drudging,—because we dare not aspire,—because we fear our brothers, and hesitate to be free. Labour is now necessarily rewarded by inevitable laws of supply and demand; and hereafter, in the reign of light and love, in the halcyon days of democracy, it shall be as inevitably rewarded by the same laws; but, we would hope, then in such proportion that he who drudges most shall receive most pay. Is it not possible that the scales may be turned—that intellect may compete with intellect, till the brain market shall be glutted, and the labour market brisk? But the scales are not turned yet, and labour, badly paid though it be, is no more dishonourable now than it will be then. We do no homage to our superiors when we work for them. Let us work on, and honour them without fear, and let no blind belief in our supposed high attainments induce us to think that we are their equals.

But never let us do homage to our brethren as to God. We may not worship man, for we are brethren; and, younger brethren though we be, we have a right to claim our relationship. We have a right to refuse their *unjust* demands for worship or for servitude, and we may do so without fear, for in the exercise of our duty there can be no cause for fear. They may injure us a little, but they cannot disinherit us, and they cannot do us wrong without themselves suffering; for, being brothers, we are mutually dependent upon each other. Our Creator has so ordered it, that if any be poor and suffer, others are compelled to assist and relieve them, or suffer also. A thousand ties, strong and indissoluble, cement our interest. Our very selfishness, guided by justice, administers to our brother's good. Yet, with all our mutual dependences, we are free as the air we breathe; and when that natural freedom is interfered with, or voluntarily resigned, society collectively, and not individuals only, is the sufferer. No one can willingly resign his individual

freedom to the will of another, without practically worshipping that other, or a sordid and merely temporary self-interest, and therefore breaking the spirit of the first commandment. It is not our interest only, but our duty to be free. But, alas! how few understand the meaning of that word. "Free; understand that well. It is the deep commandment, dimmer or clearer of our whole being, to be Free." \*

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## CHAPTER IV.

### THE FREE.

HE is not free who is a slave to his own appetite and evil habits. The so-called refinement of his desires does not detract from his want of true freedom. If his life be so devoted to the pursuit of pleasure, whether sensual or intellectual, that his will is scarcely distinguishable from his natural and acquired desires, that man is a slave. His soul is in terrible bondage to the body at least, if not to sin. The man, who is a slave to himself, will the more readily become the slave of another. He who worships himself more than God, will not be likely, from principle, to worship God rather than man. Yet, it is not with this self-worship and self-imposed slavery that I wish to occupy the reader's attention at present.

Waving all considerations of the freedom above alluded to, freedom may be considered as the right of every one to exist, to think, and to act, without being dependent upon, or bound by the will, the thoughts, or the actions of others. Such a state of perfect freedom, however, could exist only in a perfectly pure community. So long as there are those in a community whose actions would destroy the liberties of others, the liberty of the community demands that certain restrictions shall be made upon individual freedom, prohibiting the perpetration of such acts as would interfere with,—1st, the liberty of any citizen or member of such community to exist;

\* Carlyle.

2ndly, the right of any citizen to the peaceable possession of property lawfully acquired by him ; and 3rdly, the liberty of the citizen to act in any way he chose, not prohibited by the laws of the community.

A person, who is dependent upon others for his maintenance, is not free. By the sweat of our own brows, or of that of some one else, we must all live ; and he who lives at the expense and labour of another, having resigned, either wilfully or by compulsion, his existence into the keeping of another, is virtually that other's bondman for the time being. The beggar is the bondman of the community in which he lives. The sinecurist is the bondman of the party, whether State, Church, or Corporation, from whom he receives his stipend. The pauper is the bondman of the parish ; alas ! were it not often more just to consider the men, in whose employment he has laboured so long, and for such miserable pittance, his bondmen, as doubtless also they are.

The poor negro, toiling under Cuban and Brazilian skies—though, for all he receives, he bestows far more than equal—is truly a slave. Whilst his body even is not his own, he is indeed a slave. But his masters are not free. The man, whose whole fortune is amassed by the unrewarded labour of others, is as surely a bondman to his slaves as the bankrupt is to his creditors ; and with terrible high interest must he, or his descendants, pay their debts some day. As regards payment for services done, it is a matter of degree only between the unrewarded African and the ill-rewarded peasant. The African has his keep—his miserable life for his services ; it is with him slavery or death. With the English ill-paid labourer, it is hard labour for a bare sustenance, or no sustenance but from the parish,—dearly bought freedom, slavery, or death. There is this important difference, however: whilst the one is often as truly a slave as the other, one is not forced to be a slave, the other is. Hard labour for poor wages, or even for none, cannot of itself constitute slavery, so long as it is not forced by another's will. Yet, if we cannot call the agricultural labourer a slave, he is seldom a free man. He is often

compelled by circumstances to purchase the independence of his life with the independence of his mind. He must often submit to be hound to the whims and opinions of his master, or run the risk of becoming a bondman to the public, in order to avoid death by starvation. But the slave cannot purchase the right of a free existence at any cost. If he purchase the freedom of his body at all, he must be dependent upon the unrequited assistance of some third party. Body and mind he is his master's, and his only free thoughts are those which he has never uttered. It can only be by the free will of his master, or by the interference of another, that he can become free. It is folly to say that the condition of the English labourer, fearfully bad as it is, is no better. If the possibility of freedom in everything is better than the impossibility of freedom in anything, then it is well worth enduring greater bodily hardships for the sake of that possibility. The English labourer may leave his master at his pleasure. With desperate efforts on their own part, and with patience, there is nothing to prevent the English labourers becoming free men in every respect. Let them once love true freedom, and scorn to be dependent upon another, no power on earth but their own folly can prevent them being free.

He is not a free man who has no opinion of his own, but who regulates his thoughts and opinions by the will or opinions of others. When this confiding in the opinions of others, without the exercise of individual judgment, is wilful, it is a payment of homage to another, which is not a great remove, if any, from the breaking of the first commandment. If we wilfully forego our own claims to the exercise of private judgment, in order to please the will of another, or because we believe in his infallibility, we sacrifice our judgment to his, and practically worship him. There are those whose judgments we cannot but respect. We may be peculiarly sensible of our own want of judgment, and we may have good reason to place confidence in theirs. If, after forming our own opinion, we adopt theirs, from the honest conviction of their superiority, we then

neither violate our liberty, nor do unwarrantable homage to others. We by no means worship them. We have, in fact, acted from the aggregate of our own judgment, and we have merely given them that honour which we feel they are entitled to, upon the one point in question at the time. Our conduct, in this respect, is totally different to the slavish, injurious, and ignominious conduct of those who invariably form their opinions by the opinions of others. I do not know terms adequate to express my detestation of such despicable slavery, as the wilful disuse of the greatest and most important of all the gifts bestowed upon man by his Creator, out of sheer laziness or detestable servility. Yet, alas! how numerous are such slaves as these. It is folly to expect the insignia of freedom in a people that so practically manifests its want of a free and unservile spirit,—its want of independence in thought and opinion, which must precede all independence of action,—as does our own country, and more especially our sister Ireland. Not that I would cease to agitate for political freedom where political freedom does not exist; and, more especially, where the constitution of a Government professes a greater exercise of political rights than are practically allowed to the population.

He is not a free man, who, convinced that it is right to adopt a certain course of conduct, adopts a contrary one for expediency's sake, whether to gratify the vanity of another, to suit his own temporary interest, or to avoid the censure and punishment of a stronger. He is not a free man, and he will never conquer. The votaries of fashion and mere custom are slaves.

Neither is he a free man, who, for the support of freedom or truth, in whatever form, resorts to the employment of means at variance with the laws of God. He is a debtor to evil. However great his achievements in behalf of right may be, they cannot last. However much man may be willing, in his controversy with evil, to be dependent upon one evil for the suppression of another, God never will be indebted to Satan for the advancement of His kingdom upon the earth. That man, or that nation, who having, with a lie for a



foundation, built ever so glorious a truth upon it, has prepared the way for its future downfall, only to be built up again upon a more solid basis. That nation, whose freedom is purchased by violence,—by acts which show a want of a really free spirit in its revolutionists, must be prepared for a series of revolutions which will not end until right is obtained by right means,—until freedom is purchased by the free.

In my opinion, he only is a free man, who, for all the benefits he has received from others, has paid them back in full; who owes no man anything but love; who, by honestly earning his daily bread, is indebted to no one for it; who has an opinion of his own on all subjects, formed by himself, not dependent upon the opinion of others, and only indebted to them so far as they may have furnished him with facts; who seeks counsel of no one but of God, except when he knows that another has greater opportunity of acquiring information, or is wiser than he is, and then does not take such advice without carefully thinking for himself; who suffers no fear of man, no private affections, no motives of self-interest to move him from his purpose, but having once determined how he would act, acts boldly accordingly; who would scorn, under any circumstances, to increase his own wealth at the expense of another's folly; who, if he has acquired wealth, honour, or fame, has not acquired it, and would rather be wronged and despised than acquire it, by any act inconsistent with his own honest opinions of integrity and right; and who acts, in all things from principle, and not from habit and custom. It is our duty to be free; a duty we owe, not to ourselves only, but to God.

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## CHAPTER V.

### THE SECOND COMMANDMENT.

If it be right for us to be free ourselves, it is just that we do nothing at variance with the equal right of all others to the same freedom. Democracy demands that the liberty any one enjoys, shall be enjoyed by all, and that no one shall be deprived of his individual right

to equality of freedom. This is the one equality which true democracy recognizes ; no other is possible.—The universal and equal right of man to be free.

But man is not made to live isolated from man. He is a social being, dependent in everything upon his brother man. It would be but very imperfectly keeping the second commandment to allow our brother his freedom merely, and there to leave him. We must do unto him in all things exactly as we should wish him in similar circumstances to do unto us, for such is the law of fraternity—of brotherly love, which is practical democracy. Love ! Not that which one bears to the chief object of his affections, but which one bears to the whole world, and the whole world bears to each individual one. Affection is not love. There is selfishness in affection. It is the impulse of feeling, opposition to which is painful. Love, wherever it exists, is the child of the soul and of duty, and is akin to justice. Affections are the offspring of sense and inclination. In common language we call affection, love. But it is the love of principle, and not of impulse, which forms the basis of democracy.

Let us examine briefly into the reason why we do not know more of this practical democracy—why we do not keep the second commandment. The love of our own self-gratification is, perhaps, the first cause of all disobedience to the laws of God. We do what is most accordant with our dominant propensities, what is customary, what is easiest, what first appears pleasanter, what feeds our vanity and self-love most, or what tends to raise us soonest in the estimation of others, and we often do not even desire to do what is best. But there are many who really *profess* to desire to do right, who really *think* they *do* desire, and yet behave very unbrotherly indeed, and do most grievously break the second commandment. How is this ? However reluctant we may be to admit it, I believe the truth is, that if it be not from pure predeterminate self-love, the reason why we do not keep the first commandment is, because we *fear* man ; and why we do not keep the second is, because we *despise* and *hate* him.

We despise our brother man, because we imagine

ourselves better than he. Perhaps, we are better; I would not have us always believe that we are not. We may be better, inasmuch as we have more power and influence than he has; but we may not despise him on this account. It may be, we are richer, and therefore, in some sense, better. He is still our brother, and is still man; we are commanded to honour all men; we may not despise him for his poverty. We are better, perhaps, because our minds are more stored with knowledge than his. Why should we despise the ignorant? we also were once ignorant ourselves. There are aristocrats by mental endowment as well as aristocrats by birth and wealth. And there are religious aristocrats,—men who think they have a right to rule, because they are the servants of God; as such we may, perhaps, think ourselves better than our brother. So deceitful is this religious pride,—this aristocracy of religion,—that we despise our brother, because he is a sinner and is proud, and does not call himself a sinner, whilst we, believing ourselves saints, call ourselves sinners.

Of all motives for despising our fellow-man, this last is the most despicable. True democracy, and I hesitate not to say, true Christianity, honours man as man, and treats him as a brother, whatever be his errors.

“ Through all disguise of place or name,  
Beneath the flaunting robes of sin,  
Through poverty and squalid shame,  
Thou lookest on the man within.

“ On man, as man, retaining yet,  
Howe’er debased, and soiled, and dim,  
The crown upon his forehead set,  
The immortal gift of God to him.”

God says, “ ye are brethren,” and he bids us love as brethren. The world knows he does. Sinners know that it is through pride, which God has forbidden, that we despise them. Pharisees!—The curse of God upon the Pharisees is hanging over us. Vain are all our endeavours to do good, whilst the world reads upon our foreheads, “ Pharisee.” We may visit the sick, we may clothe the naked, we may reprove the idle, we may

blame the spendthrift, we may reprimand the thoughtless, and denounce our woes upon the Sabbath breaker, the swearer, and the drunkard. We may pour out our consolations like oil upon the penitent and the humble, but it will avail nothing, so long as we exhibit in our actions, in our little doings, in our words, in our general bearing, the truthfulness of the title engraven on our phylacteries, "lords over God's heritage."

Oh, it is a fearful thing to despise our fellow-man, to look down upon him as beneath us, for any cause. I say not that all men are equal. God knows they are not; but, lest we should treat our unequals as not our brothers, he bids us do unto them as we would they should do unto us. He tells us this in his own Testament. The present age, speaking as do all ages if we would but hear them, tells us so also; whilst in every act which transpires it reminds us of our brotherhood, and in the most unmistakeable terms bids us own it. This world would instantly become a paradise did we love God. God tells us that we cannot love Him whilst we do not love our brethren.

Unbelieving men tell us, in terms not to be misunderstood, that whilst we who profess to believe despise them, they will not believe in our God. No wonder! they cannot see the likeness of a true God in us. We love not God whilst we despise man, and they will not believe in God, because they cannot believe us. And yet it is we who talk of reforming the world! Never shall we do that, till we love one another. Well is it that there are some of our despised brethren who, though they cannot see God in us, can see Him elsewhere; who can practically believe in Him, though they doubt the reality of established Churches, and the Christianity of sectarianism, which can despise that which God has exalted above all else earthly. "If a man say he loves God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar; for if he loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"\*

But we even hate our brothers, and go to war with them, and do all we can to injure them. We plan their down-

\* 1 John, iv. 20.

fall, and rejoice to see them suffer, because they have wounded our pride, or, it may be, have behaved unbrotherly to us. How ready we are to do unto others as they do unto us! Surely it is not reasonable, in a world of sin and misunderstanding and accident, to imagine that because we wish no evil to others, therefore none should ever behave unbrotherly to us. There is wonderful confusion of tongues even now,—at all events, confusion of ideas amongst men, even speaking the same language; and there always will be, till there be more real faith and charity amongst us. Offences, therefore, will come, with or without sin on the part of the offender. But whilst we retaliate, there will be no end to this confused state of things. It is not religion only, it is the most perfect philosophy, founded upon a knowledge of human nature, which bids us “render good for evil.” We read in our New Testament, “Do good to them which hate you.” God, in our own consciences, tells us the same thing. Our common reasoning faculties which God has given us, tell us so also, if we would but consult them. And the living voices of all ages, but above all, of the present age, tell us that “to destroy the enemy, we must destroy the enmity;”\* that love is the only antidote for hate.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### THE PRACTICAL.

VERY good, indeed, is the doctrine of doing unto others as we would they should do unto us. Very good indeed, in theory. We have heard enough lately of “Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity,” with a democratic government, promising to give the unemployed that employment which they, under similar circumstances, would like to receive themselves; it is all very good in theory, but put into practice,—such democracy is not practical. No doubt many of my readers have thought something after this fashion, whilst reading the foregoing

\* Elihu Burritt.

chapter. In answer to which, let me say, that true democracy is practical, and "doing as we would be done by," applies to every circumstance of life, even to politics. It is not the *democracy* of the French revolution that has ended so disastrously. Democracy is not possible in a government, where the people are aristocrats; call it republican, or what else, it is either aristocracy or anarchy. Those who in the rush of the moment took the reins of government provisionally in France, had doubtless a belief in democracy; but they were not wise men. They had some notion that "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," were words which had a practical meaning, as doubtless they would have had, in better keeping; but they confined themselves to the use of these words, without practically understanding them. And yet these words were not wholly powerless; for awhile they exercised a magic spell over the nation, which blinded both people and government to the fact, that the French Provisional Government was no democracy, but was in fact an aristocracy. It will not effect my argument to accuse any member of that Provisional Government of intentional fraud, or of promising work with the conviction that it was impossible to give it, or of having any other selfish motive than the desire to carry out his own notions of right government. But as a democratic government must be the echo of a people's will, whether right or wrong, and not the exercise of the private opinions of a few, even if right, it is impossible that a self-chosen or mob-chosen government, can be democratic, or that such government rightly chosen can exist where the people are not democrats themselves. The revolutionists of France may be communists, but they are not democrats! Communism is not democracy, and yet communism is not possible without it; and again, the doing unto others as we would they should do unto us, is the only true communism, and has no need to be wedded to equality. In the best light in which it is possible to regard French communism, it is but the result of a vague idea of what would be right were every thing right, without regard either to human nature, sin,

or possibility. Unlike it, democracy demands nothing that is impossible.—No promise on the part of governments to employ the unemployed, without a guarantee of funds to do it with. And, whilst it acknowledges the equal right of all to be free, it cannot command that the master shall share his profit with the workmen. Democracy is not the offspring of love only, but also of light. The first impression of a weak or selfish mind might be, that to be consistent with doing as we would be done by, masters and men should share equally the profits of their labour; but a little deliberate reflection will show, that such practice would be accompanied with very disastrous consequences. And it is not necessary, in order to do as we would be done by, that we either run ourselves and neighbours into certain ruin, or do anything which is inevitably opposed to reason and the laws of our nature. It is not my purpose now to prove that the communism of the French, or the equality between master and man, so often applauded by professed democrats in England, is opposed to reason and the evident design of our Creator in the formation of man as a social and yet independent being, but I fully believe it is, and that it is subversive of individual liberty, and therefore at variance with the idea I have formed of true democracy. Though professing to be consistent with *love*, it certainly is not the child of *light*.

But so long as there continues to be between master and man that want of sympathy and mutual interest, so prevalent amongst the merely selfish competitors for an existence on this earth;—so long as they fail practically to acknowledge their brotherhood, there will continue to be discontent on the part of the workman, ending in wild theories of communism, and on the part of the master, mistrust, dissatisfaction or oppression. A master who does as he would be done by, would not seek every possible opportunity of grinding down the wages of his labourer below their market value; he would rather use every effort within his power to increase them. But a free and independent labourer, who values his independence, and appreciates the value of his labour, will firmly, yet respectfully resist every unjust effort that

may be made to lower them. The right of competition, which the master so justly claims for the manufacture and sale of his articles, must not be denied to the labourer, either on the one hand in his attempt to obtain work even at a low rate of wages rather than not at all, nor on the other hand, in his attempt to compete in the scale of social improvement with his master. Rightly understood, and subject to the great principles of Christian love, the competitive system, so loudly and unwisely deprecated by ignorant or interested parties, is not only consistent with Christianity and brotherly love, but is one of the greatest blessings of modern civilization. As it is even now, in an age of irreligious and unprincipled selfishness, it acts as the great safety-valve of our social existence.

But something must be done to improve the condition of our labouring, and of our idle, starving population. Something must be done, and something may perhaps be done by Government; some political changes might be of use, some may be almost necessary. Whatever in the government of a country is opposed to freedom of every kind, and especially the freedom of trade, is injurious to the interests of society, and tells most upon the weakest, and therefore first upon the poorest and the labourer. That there are laws which interfere with the freedom of trade we do not doubt. That there are laws which cripple the competitive system in agriculture—the first source of wealth to every nation—is notorious; and that the constitution of our Government itself actually, not professedly, tends to make the labouring population injuriously dependent upon their superiors, and therefore cripples their energies for self-improvement, is honestly believed by many. And this belief threatens to form the nucleus around which the dissatisfaction, discontent, and lawlessness of the nation will gather, and one day burst, with no inconsiderable danger to our position in the scale of nations. Some practical—not theoretic ideal—democracy in our Government is essential with the growing intelligence of the governed.

But I have no hope for safety in political reform, agitated as it is, with comparatively few exceptions, by



parties more selfish than patriotic,—more desirous to exhibit their own talents, and to become popular, than to serve their country. There requires a deeper, more earnest, more practical self-sacrificing effort on the part of those who really know the evils of society, and feel a real desire to remedy them. The effort must be made by clear-headed, thinking, honest and principled men, must be supported by such men only, and must not be shackled by the professed assistance of aristocracy or demagoguism. It must be Christian and thoroughly democratic in its character. In the meantime, till such effort be made, we may do much by inculcating the principles of universal brotherly love, and still more by carrying them out ourselves in our every-day intercourse with others.

We are not individual free agents only, but mutual free agents, and may therefore either assist or retard the progressive improvements of our commonwealth. If we keep the law of love, we assist to promote the happiness of the world; if we do not desire to keep it, we are rebels against man and God. But we profess to keep this law, for I speak to those who do. How do we keep it? Do we keep it, by showing all disregard to our brother's interests and feelings by our selfish conduct and aristocratic bearing; in all we do, seeking to have our superiority acknowledged, and offended when it is not? Do we keep it, when we treat our servants, dependents, and inferiors, in a way that tends to destroy all their aspirings after true freedom; when we give them unnecessary trouble, rather than do any little thing, however easy to ourselves, but which might cost them no small amount of inconvenience; when we scold them for a supposed fault, and refuse to hear their explanation; and when we constantly behave, in many other respects, in a way utterly opposed to the principle of doing as we would be done by, to say nothing of that tyrannical and overbearing conduct to inferiors which is so common? Do we keep it, when we deny to our dependents and tenants the right of private judgment, of religious liberty, or of liberty to do what they please, so long as it is not opposed to their duty to

us? Do we keep it, when we treat our children with negligence,—reproving them, not when they do wrong and for doing wrong, but when they give us trouble, heedless alike whether accidentally or not? Do we keep it, when we look with indifference upon the misery which surrounds us,—when we see sin and misery and degradation rampant in our land, and refuse to give ourselves the trouble to inquire into the cause, and strive to remove the evil, contenting ourselves with giving such bare pittance to benevolent institutions as the importunity of their officers may be able to extract from us, and then congratulate ourselves upon our liberality, whilst always rejoiced when the annual collection escapes our notice, or the importunate collector omits to call? Do we keep it, when we rail at sin in others, and are always blaming them and thinking ourselves (not calling ourselves) righteous; when for every evil that is done we seek to blame anybody but ourselves, and with wonderful diligence do lay the blame somewhere; or when we give way to a petty, discontented, impatient, fault-finding disposition? Do we keep this law of love by giving our brother or our sister, who, through improvidence, oppression, or poverty of others or themselves, become dependent upon us, a cold welcome in the union workhouse? It may be absolutely necessary that they should go there; there may be no alternative but to go there, or die; but shall we wound the keen and susceptible feelings of our brother and our sister by our harsh and overbearing committal of them to the workhouse authorities? If it must be, let us at least show that we feel for their condition. Let each twitch of hunger, and each shiver from the cold, touch some cord of sympathy in our own heart that shall continue to vibrate till we have exerted all our energies to remove the cause or causes of such accident or poverty from the land we love. It may be, our brother, despite his poverty, was a hard-hearted rebel against God and man, for it may be that he would not work. The cure for this rebellion, whether it leads to the workhouse or the gaol, is the feeling, yet powerful censure of a free people which deprives them of their

freedom ;—the consciousness of slavery, in that ignominious dependence upon others which receives a kindness without the possibility of a recompence.

Do we keep this law of love when we honour not man as man, but those only and those first whom we most fear for their power, their wealth, their intelligence or their virtue ;—when, if our brother in affliction should call upon us when we are busy, though the business he wants with us be a matter of life and death to him or his family, we bid him call again ; whilst, if our brother, enveloped in a cloth of superfine texture, or our sister in silk and satin call, we leave the most pressing engagement and receive them with all the mock courtesy we can?

Nay, not that smile of proud contempt, my brother. Thy heart has yearned, I know, for many a helpless orphan, for many a wretched vagabond. I see thee often at the soup kitchen ; I hear thee on the platform, talking of the rights of man ; I see thee foremost in all the noble causes which respond to our country's call. Temperance, peace, political liberty, anti-slavery, anti-corn law, anti-wrong, engage thy attention even more than thy necessary trade. Thy coffers are always open to enlightened benevolence ; and yet I hear thee called a proud, an overbearing, unsympathizing man. Thy heart, they say, is hard as the nether millstone ; and they say so because thy democracy is not visible in thy every-day intercourse with man. Thou hast, with all thy benevolent exertions on behalf of right and justice, a cold and distant reserve, which thou hast been taught to consider essential to the proper maintenance of the dignity due to thy station. Thou wilt not practically acknowledge thy poorer neighbour to be thy brother. Thou art anxious to see thy country thrive, poverty decreased, and true freedom living in the land, but thou art harsh to thy inferiors, domineering to thy servants, offended if thy dependents exercise their right of private judgment. Thou shalt not move the world by thy cold arm of justice only. Thou criest for equal rights and equal justice ; why not show a practical and universal love ? Love is the true antidote for wrong. Throw love into thy energies for right, and a nation's voice shall

bless thee, and not they only who have shared in thy affections or received, as officers of charitable institutes, thy large donations.

Thou, too, my friend, with that well-satisfied countenance and pleased eye, that one so at variance with thyself should have received my puny censure. I have a word, too, for thee. Thy heart is soft and tender as a Christian's heart can be. The poor are never at thy door but they obtain relief. It would be more than thy feelings could bear to see thy afflicted brother treated with contempt and unkindness. I hear the voices of praise from a vast multitude around thy home. There is ever some poor son of Adam to speak well of thee. Yet thousands might live like thee, blest, and die, leaving the world as wretched as they found it. With one hand thou dolest thy favours and kind words, with the other, thou sanctionest the continuance of wrong, oppression, and robbery. I see thee at the hustings—it is to give thy support, not to men of liberal and enlightened philanthropy, but to men who prefer ignominious peace, at the sacrifice of principle, to reform; whose labours for the improvement of the people will be always at the expense of their liberties, who love that the poor should ever be dependent upon such as thee. The habits of thy country are ruining its thousands daily, but thou assistest not to avert their influence, but rather censures, with big scripture words and knit brows, those innovators of old customs, who seek to change the habits of society. Thy fellow-beings are denied the right of brotherhood by thy country, and by the tyranny of custom and oppressors, but the oppressors of thy country are thy intimate friends, and thou wilt not lift up so much as thy little finger against tyranny. It is not thy soul but thy phrenological development that has won praise for thee. Go, learn that benevolence is not justice; that natural affections are not love.

I have now briefly alluded to a few of the most familiar cases in which we fail to recognize the authority of the law of love. They are but a few, and serve only to show the beautiful simplicity and universal applicability of that golden precept, "Therefore, all things

whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them."

I should, however, greatly fail in keeping that law myself, did I wish to infer that all who may feel that I have expressed their own failures in this respect are therefore sinners in the sight of God. Many of the cases I have alluded to are the result of custom and habit, and do not proceed from a deliberate want of love in the soul. But yet these habits are not the less to be condemned, because they exist with well intentioned philanthropic and Christian motives. The world always fails to recognise any distinction between the act and the motive. And, however much we may be mainly responsible for the motive in the sight of God, it is the act and not the motive which in this world brings down, in the natural course of events, those very judgments or evil consequences most suited to its character. And we also are culpable in the sight of God if we wilfully refuse to think of these things. Yet judge not, for to our own Master we must rise or fall.

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## CHAPTER VII.

### THE EARNEST.

THERE has been one hope throughout all ages,—the hope that a time will come when more substantial happiness shall exist amongst men; when that which is evil shall give place to that which is good. And as men's ideas of good and evil have varied, so has the idea of this hope varied. The politician sees only perfection in governments. The religious sectarian expects the eventual triumph of his sect. The Jew looks to the land of Palestine as his own. The hard-toiling peasant, if all hope be not worked out of him, sees more equitable distribution of wealth. Thou who callest thyself a Bible Christian, hast thy millennium. All earnest men hope for a millennium of some kind. But dream not, oh, reader! that thou shalt wake some morning and find all millennium-like, with this fair and very beautiful

earth all glorious as it might be, were it not for sin, and thy Lord reigning in Jerusalem or elsewhere, personally amongst his saints. Think not that thou hast no work to do ere then, but to wait, a cipher, for thy Lord's coming. No! dream not thus. Is he not now calling thee to work, and not to gaze idly on, condemning the world's wickedness and approving thy own sanctity? Thou must teach men to love one another. It is thy peculiar work, as though there were none other in the world capable, for *thou* believest in a millennium. It is a reasonable hope, and not a mere idle speculation. Thou, as thou believest, art also thyself responsible for its accomplishment, for whilst thou refusest to preach by thy life and behaviour the great fact of thy religion—a religion of love—there can be no millennium possible.

Do thou therefore, and let us all, unite earnestly and heartily in the cause of universal brotherly love. Not merely content with supporting every scheme devised for this object, and stamped with this name, but earnestly and seriously considering what it is to love one another. No writing of mine can ever teach thee what it is; God and thy own thoughts must do that; I only entreat thee *to be willing*, first, to know what it is to love rightly, and secondly, to do all in thy power to persuade others to love rightly also. Do this, not because it is a virtue that shall merit a reward hereafter, not because it will atone in any way for sin, but because thou must. It is indeed a payment due to man for six thousand years of injustice and oppression.

We speak of a Church: there are men who believe themselves members of the Church. Shall these stand aloof from us? shall these refuse to forego those practices, habits, and opinions, which upon more earnest examination are found to be opposed to the law of love? The true Church of God cannot, except in ignorance. A false one does and ever will do, whilst it talks of "modern infidelity,"—of a wish to exalt man and to deny God. As yet, that which professes to be the Church of God has more practical belief in the power of its creed, and in the forms of its religion, than in the reality of God. It naturally takes fright at innovation. It cannot see,

in the breaking down of priestcraft, anything but the breaking down of religion ; and to it, I doubt not, there are passages in my "Democracy," which will appear fearfully dangerous, even if the whole of it be not rather heterodox. Nay there are those even of the true Church, who I doubt not have suspected my orthodoxy. Taught by others, believing in others, and trusting in others, they think they see in the beautiful ordering of divine wisdom, all the arrangement of class and gradation which I would overthrow. High on the throne of omniscience is the eternal and unapproachable One ; on his right hand his Son our intercessor ; around Him are angels and angels ; still lower are thrones and principalities of earth, archbishops, bishops and priests, teachers and hearers, from the highest scale of man to the lowest, and so on to the beast ; "For the graduated scales of rank accordeth with the ordinance of heaven."\* And therefore they judge that the lower may only communicate with the higher, through the mediation of their immediate superiors. Art thou a poor layman and a labourer that believest this? I praise thy veneration : but art thou a ruler amongst the people, and not withal a servant? thy orthodoxy is at least as open to suspicion as mine.

Man is not exalted above the sphere assigned him by his Creator, because all partition between him and his God is annihilated. God is not lowered because he is proclaimed a God near at hand, and not a God afar off. If I believe in a Redeemer,—in a Saviour crucified for me, I believe that I, and the least esteemed amongst men, have free admission, without the mediation of man or angels, to the immediate presence of the Most High. If I believe in a millennium, I believe in the second coming of our Lord. Even as he ascended in clouds, so also amidst clouds shall he descend.† The clouds are, if I mistake not, visible now in the heavens of our moral world, of which the history of the physical world affords so beautiful a type ; it remains but for an universal and practical belief that God is indeed our

\* Tupper.

† Acts, i. 11.

Father, and is approachable by us, to be present, and our Saviour is again amongst men, and all the kingdoms of the earth are the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ. We cannot make this belief universal, but we may do something towards it; we may show that we believe it, and that we love our Lord. But if we do this we shall learn that our duty, and the way in which we are to keep his commandments, is by loving one another. The democracy of the first and of the second commandment, is one and indivisible. Mere preaching will avail little, unless God preaches in us; but whilst we see our brother in bondage, in poverty, in ignorance, in misery, and do not hold out a hand of practical relief to him, we are culpable, and are hindering the knowledge of God from becoming universal. When we see the weak oppressed by the strong, and preach only obedience; when we see thousands in want of the common necessities of life, and instead of bread give them tracts and lectures on contentment; when we see men living in ignorance of the best way of earning their necessary livelihood, and only tell them to think of another world; when we see them ignorant of the evils they are bringing upon themselves by following the customs and habits of society, and speak to them only of the "Grace of God;" when, instead of practically alleviating their misery, we build them chapels, and prisons, and work-houses; are we not like a father, of whom, if his son ask bread, he gives him a stone? Our intentions may often be good in these our fruitless endeavours, but oftener, I fear, we shall find they result from an inclination to lord over God's heritage, rather than humbly to do that work in the world's vineyard which God has peculiarly entrusted to our charge.

Let us, then, love one another without respect of persons, heartily and earnestly, and let us persuade others to do so also. We may have to fight, it is true; there is no living in this world without fighting. We may have to contend with powers, and prejudices and affections. But, as our love is not partial, power, and prejudice, and affection, must give way to right and justice, or the welfare of the whole. Those



who seek to proclaim the mission of universal brotherly love, must expect opposition, nor be offended by it. Their love must extend even to the opposers of their principles, whether that opposition be to the principle itself, or to the immediate method by which they have chosen to reveal that love.

There are many ways in which love may reveal itself. It may be revealed in endeavours to promote the knowledge of the redemption which is in Christ Jesus, or in endeavours to uproot error. It may show itself in Bible Societies, Tract Societies, School Societies, Temperance Societies, Peace Societies, Health of Towns Societies, Building Societies, Insurance Societies, Anti-slavery Societies, Societies for the Protection of Aborigines, for the Disunion of Church and State, for the Abolition of Corn Laws and Restrictions upon Commerce, for Universal or Extended Suffrage, &c. ; or it may show itself in the more silent and manifold workings of religious fervency and Christian zeal. Let not those who advocate one plan, condemn or despise those who advocate another. The human mind is perhaps too small, at present, to grasp at once the whole bearing of the law of love. It cannot throw its whole energies into every sphere of usefulness. But it need not, in its zeal for one, be opposed to another. We may find much that we cannot unite with in many benevolent institutions,—a want of enlightened regard to true freedom, ignorance of human nature, and violent sectarianism and party spirit. We shall not enlighten them by opposing them *in toto*, and we cannot lessen their party spirit by forming a fresh party ourselves ; but we may do both, by seeking the prosperity of all sincere efforts to do good which do not actually compromise our own principles.

Love is essential in the composition of all lasting work, but it may combine, in various proportions, with light. Light and love should never be opposed ; yet, whilst we see not eye to eye, whilst the light is yet faint, we need not marvel much at some deficiency of love,—more the result of false zeal, than of hatred. Love may quarrel single-handed with hatred, and light may contend alone with darkness ; but it remains for

democracy, the full development of love and light united, to work, with God's help, the restitution of all things.

But, you who seek to promote its influence and to extend its power, be gentle. Too harsh, too bitter, or too reckless, ye destroy it as ye go. Think of the powerful influence of prejudice. Think of the weakness of those who have long lived in darkness and oppression. Be not too severe with the slave, who hugs his chain—with the mind inured to partial, and not perfect love. Place yourselves in the position of those you fight, and deal not your blows unfairly. Give them the liberty you claim yourselves. Spare the very old,—he whose mind, now so near worn out, requires all its energies to prepare for another world. Light is not essential to salvation, therefore it may be well to leave him ignorant rather than disturb and agitate his mind. Deal not censure roughly on the infant mind. In no case, blame another's want of democracy, when you, under the same circumstances, would do as he does. It is questionable whether, at any time, it be well to blame or censure another; but, if necessary, always let it be by your example, rather than by words; or, if indeed by words, not the result of anger or emotion, but of the stern deliberate sense of duty. Be courteous. Remember, that if it be right to make the law of love your guide, in matters of the highest moment, in first principles, in customs, and in Governments, it is equally right to make it so with the little every-day occurrences of life. Let it mingle with your family concerns, at the table, at the fire-side, at the evening party. Strive to avoid every uncouthness of manner, and all displeasing habits. Yet never wound the feelings of the ignorant and uneducated by your remarks on his behaviour. It is an ill-breeding that will make sport of the ill-breeding of others. Exercise courtesy without flattery, and gentleness without affectation.

Let the presence of this love go with you; nor let its bearing on your every-day conduct cause you to forget those sterner realities of duty to your suffering fellow-creatures, which it calls for at your hand.

"Not yours alone the task to speak  
Of comfort to the poor and weak,  
And dry the tear of sorrow's cheek;

"But, mingling in the conflict warm,  
To pour the fiery breath of storm  
Through the harsh trumpet of Reform,—

"To brave Opinion's settled frown,  
From ermined robe and saintly gown,  
While wrestling hoary error down."

You may suffer in the conflict; but know, that passive resistance, with patient suffering in the cause of truth, is too powerful to be long withstood. "Work, and despair not."

